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inhabitants of their city. In this book Mr Skinner has given a unified and consistent ethnological account of these now extinct people. He has made judicious use of all available sources, chiefly historical, checked them by the results of archeological excavation, and wisely interpreted the whole in the light of the ethnology of living Algonkian tribes.

A concise statement of the identity and tribal affiliations of the ancient inhabitants of this territory is given; clearing in the mind of the layman a point which has hitherto been unnecessarily obscured. The material culture of these Indians is presented chiefly by means of quotations from the colonial writers; the more important contributions, many of which are inaccessible to the general public, being given at length. The social organization and religious customs were of necessity only obtainable from the living Delaware. Finally, there is presented an excellent account of the war which led to the extermination of these Indians, and of its despicable causes and conduct.

The remainder of the book, dealing with the archeology of this region, is invaluable to the local collector. The location of sites, the remains obtained from them, and the methods of conducting excavation are briefly described. The evaluation of some of the extraneous cultural influences, whose presence is hinted at by Mr Skinner, would undoubtedly have improved this otherwise adequate summary.

LESLIE SPIER

The Voyages of the Norsemen to America. WILLIAM HOVGAARD. New York: The American Scandinavian Foundation, 1914. 8°, 304 pp., 83 ill., 7 maps.

Surely this,—the Saga of Eric the Ruddy, containing the episode of the attempted settlement of Vinland or Wineland of Thorfinn Karlsefni, his wife Gudrid and their one hundred and sixty colonists—will always be unique in its interest. There can hardly be a question of its title to priority, for we still possess the manuscript copied between the years 1300 and 1334 into the compilation known as Hauksbook by Hauk Erlendsson, knight of Norway, with the assistance of two secretaries. This, it will be observed, is about a hundred years before the birth of Columbus, to say nothing of the dates of his writings and voyages; also rather more than seventy years before the dubious adventure of Earl Sinclair and the Zeni, the narrative of which, recast long afterward, purports to tell us something at second-hand of the dwellers in Estotiland and Drogio,—perhaps Newfoundland and Cape Breton Island. Thus, if the Icelandic saga dated only from the time of Hauk's transcribing,

it would have a very respectable priority in its own especial line: and whatever items we may find in it which could not probably be conjectured and are true to American facts must be given their full face value as contributions to geography and ethnology.

But there is no question that the composition of the record is much earlier than this transcription. It even embodies verses which belong to the eleventh century, as the most expert judges tell us, by diction and meter. In other words, they were composed either during the three years' expedition (about 1003 to 1006) as they purport to have been, or at some time when the national memory of its details would still be warm and vivid in a tradition-loving country. It happens that some of these verses deal with a native of the New World which they had visited. The prose parts of the saga, which make up nearly all of it, contain fuller and more precise accounts, as by eyewitnesses, of the strange dark people encountered by them—unpleasantly surprising to Norsemen in hair and eyes and features, in their curious simplicity, turning on the instant into extravagant fierceness; in their unheard-of customs and properties too, and their divers uncanny ways.

Two or three generations later, another manuscript of this voyage saga was copied, apparently not from the same original as that chosen by Hauk for his copying, but from another, differing only in minor details, which require close observation or the divergencies will escape notice. Numerous later manuscripts of this saga exist on parchment or paper but Reeves, by painstaking investigation, satisfied himself that nearly all had been copied from the two surviving ones above mentioned, usually with slight changes, which occasionally are of some importance.

The exceptions consist of the celebrated Flatey-book manuscript dating from 1375 or 1380 at the earliest (and probably somewhat later), and the few copies which follow it. This Flatey-book version multiplies the number of the voyages to Wineland, crediting one to nearly every conspicuous member of Karlsefni's party and multiplying coincidences and improbabilities; but it adds a few items concerning the so-called Skraelings, which have a certain air of verity and might have come down by independent tradition.

Ever since Dr Storm's "*Studies on the Vinland Voyages*," the world has looked askance on the Flatey-book version, especially where the two accounts are in conflict. Probably the most distinctive, though not the most valuable and helpful, feature of Professor Hovgaard's monograph is his dissent from this judgment. He goes so far as to hold that both narratives are historic and stand upon an equal footing. He ex-

plains their worst inconsistencies by supposing that they deal in part with distinct voyages and that all the expeditions named in either, with one exception, occurred as related. His scheme of American exploration labors under a heavy burden in this problem of conservation and harmony.

Both versions agree as to repeated visits of natives, at first friendly, afterward bitterly hostile, in the most southerly home which the Norse colonists attempted to make for themselves. They were beaten off with difficulty and some loss of life among the white men; who could not hope to be reinforced for a long time and wisely withdrew soon afterward rather than incur the continued hostility and repeated onsets of its inhabitants.

Both versions also tell of several natives who were found asleep beside their boats and incidentally killed in a matter-of-course way; but this occurrence is presented at two distinct stages of the narrative and with differences of detail.

Both versions relate the death of Thorvald Ericsson by an arrow shot into his body; only the *Flatey*-book makes the missile one of a flight directed on the ship and the shield-wall above the gunwale; whereas the *Hauksbook*, in the earliest bit of composition offered by these sagas, insists that it came from a lone archer whom they thought abnormal and wizardly, and therefore called him a one-footer or uniped, accepting for truth a rumor of primitive fancy.

In addition the *Hauksbook* version relates the surprise of another party of *Skraellings* in *Markland* on the way homeward and the capture of two boys, who were carried to Iceland and taught to speak, as the saga man puts it, supplying some dubious information concerning their own language, people, and neighbors. Naturally, this has been much discussed, with little agreement and very uncertain profit.

Professor Hovgaard is of those who think these *Markland* people Eskimo; but we have nothing of them professedly at first-hand except the fact that one of them was bearded and the promptness of their vanishing underground. The names are most probably corruptions of European words, their account of processions in a neighboring region—conjectured to be Great Ireland—seems an echo of current belief among their captors; and their account of government by kings, if not similarly derived, would suit Indians much better than Eskimo. Furthermore, a forest land (*Markland*) is surely an unpromising land to look for the latter. It was, however, the sole home of the *Beothuk*, so far as we know, and this episode should probably be taken as the first experience

of white men with these insular people, if not altogether mythical—and indeed it has something of that air.

Professor Hovgaard however discovers his Beothuk in the Indians who first traded and afterward fought at Hóp, so effectually thwarting the purposes of the expedition; distinguishing between them and the men killed on the shore (as he supposes) of Cape Cod—who must have been either Algonkian of some kind or their unknown possible predecessors.

This grows out of the supposed need to accept and reconcile the two versions, resulting in an odd duplication of places as well as voyages. Thus we have two Vinlands, each with its especial Hóp,—the Vinland and Hóp of Leif beside Nantucket sound and the Vinland and Hóp of Karlsefni on the east front of northern Newfoundland; also two Marklands, two Hellulands, two Kjallarnesses—rather widely distributed. We even seem to have an attempt to conserve the uniped—as a misunderstood Beothuk, without giving up the Cape Cod bay killers of Thorvald. But the chief excuse for the uniped, his chief reason for being, so far as concerns the saga, was surely to discharge that fatal arrow. We cannot well think of him without his distinctive achievement. Yet Thorvald can hardly have been killed twice. The reconciling of contradictions appears in danger of breaking down.

A simpler way out is to recognize the names of Helluland, Markland, and Wineland as representing the three great natural divisions of the American coastal country, according to the classification of Norse needs and wishes—the bleak treeless Arctic and sub-Arctic expanse, yielding furs only; the forest land full of game next below it; the warmer country still farther below, where fruits of the soil became more abundantly available—above all, the wine grapes, which more than any other product stood for unlimited sunny fruitfulness throughout all northern Europe. Thus rather widely separated localities might well be included in Wineland and the visitors who reached one part of its territory might well be disappointed by the lack of attractions reported from another. Recognizing certain confusions, distortions and inventions in the later narrative and the propriety of adhering to the earlier one in the main, the story becomes more reasonable as well as more simple.

Excepting the uniped and the Marklanders where the mythical element is rather pronounced, all the natives of the saga seem to have been Indians of one tribe or another and not unlikely Algonkian. Only two items militate against this in any degree—their skin boats and their great noisy projectile used in battle. These may very well have been

worked in long afterward by some narrator or copyist, the former representing his idea, derived from Greenland, of what was proper to a Skraeling, the latter introduced from accounts of Norse warfare, for decoration and the enlivening of the narrative. They certainly cannot outweigh the numerous characteristics described, which are very much more Indian than Eskimo. It is unnecessary to repeat these; reference may be made to Reeves facsimile copies and translation of the text and the very full consideration of it by Nansen and other recent writers.

Professor Hovgaard devotes an appendix to the elaborate comparison of lacrosse and the Norse game of *Knattleikr*, as described, with some notable differences, by Hertzberg and Bjarnason. Certain variations in the Indian games from which the standard lacrosse has developed are also considered: as well as a ball game found among the Greenland Eskimo when Hans Egede visited them. His verdict is that:

On the whole, the evidence brought to light by a study of these games favors the theory that Lacrosse came to the Indians through the Norsemen; but we find nothing in the sagas to show that such frequent and intimate intercourse which this theory presupposes took place between the two peoples.

Perhaps a graver objection might be found in the lack of evidence of its transmission from the northeast American coast to more southwestern interior regions and of evidence excluding a contrary movement.

Professor Hovgaard speculates interestingly as to the origin of Stefánsson's blonde Eskimo and other Central Arctic Inuit who are reported to show signs of white blood. He thinks that an "unwritten chapter may exist comprising the story of the ultimate fusion of the Norse colony with the Eskimos in Greenland and the migration of the resulting mixed tribes to the Arctic continent of America." No doubt this is possible: but certainly there is a great gap between the two regions both geographically and historically. We have to take a flight in the air with no facts to rest on. Also, the obstacles would be very great and there seems no sufficient incentive to encounter them. Again, if, as we are told, the Greenland colonists never exceeded 2,000 people, and if, as the surviving records indicate, they had been dwindling for a long time before final extinction or absorption, the latter process might find a mere handful to operate on. Their progeny might become almost wholly indistinguishable from the mass of Eskimo about them even in the course of a century, and if transplanted to Victorialand or some other distant Arctic region would be even more indistinguishable now. Certainly this line of reasoning is not infallible, for heredity plays strange

tricks and there may be an underestimate in the accepted Norse Greenland census; also other factors, not readily to be guessed, may have entered into the problem. But the burden of proof remains with those who suggest anything so essentially extravagant, however fascinating to the fancy.

Of course any work dealing with these old sagas must present also more or less of the Icelandic side of anthropology. Professor Hovgaard has turned his technical knowledge and predilections to especially good account in clearing up certain difficult questions of early life and navigation. By his careful study and exposition of the drift of the ice between Greenland and the American mainland, the waterway left open up the former shore, the outlets from it and their seasons, we are made to understand better than ever before the sailing directions for reaching inhabited Greenland from Iceland and the wisdom, almost the inevitableness, of Thorfinn Karlsefni's voyage from the Eastern to the Western settlement, before sailing south or southwest to reach a new world. Also Professor Hovgaard's plans of homesteads in Iceland and Greenland, though not absolutely unique, are among the best that have been given, and with the accompanying text, which is based on the painstaking spadework of official Danish archeologists in both settlements of Greenland, must bring the life of those isolated pastoral and fishing communities, with their rather surprising variety of livestock, plainly before the eye of any reader. Yet again, the book contains valuable work in topography: the sketches of several different Icelandic and more eastern Hóps being particularly instructive. Incidentally the one near Karlsefni's home in northern Iceland makes clearer than ever the curious parallel in matters of detail between it and Mount Hope bay; and its page-companion from the Orkneys shows repeatedly the transformation of the word Hóp into the English Hope, fancied by some to have taken place in that Rhode Island instance, passing through the intermediate form Haup, which Munro's "History of Bristol" asserts that the early English settlers found in use by the Indians of the neighborhood as a local name. There is, of course, also an obvious resemblance to a name of Trumbull's dictionary and surviving common use, one form of which is Montauk, though it does not appear that there has been any real connection between the words. But no doubt these parallels are odd and suggestive rather than reliably helpful.

It is plain that we must not accept too confidently the specific statements of even the earlier and less flagrantly unreliable of these saga versions. Historic it is not, unless in the sense that *Ivanhoe* and *Henry*

Esmond are historic; but we must not forget that these latter would be precious and indispensable sources of history if we had nothing else to tell us about their periods. Apparently in the growth of this saga a series of ballad-like poems were turned for the most part into prose and strung on the thread of a brief and business-like ship's-log, embodying some terse notes of what struck the eye. Other episodes were taken from other reminiscent narratives of the voyage of Greenland life and prefixed, interleaved, or appended. It comes down to us in final copying, with slight changes by error or well-meant interpolation. We test this result by its correspondence or lack thereof with what we know to be true and what could not be known in that pre-Columbian time unless originally derived from those who had made the voyage to America by the northern route. Similarly we are able to gather and add a little from the later and more elaborately vitiated Flatey-book text. But it is not safe to treat as conclusive a passing reference to skin boats, or a two days' voyage, or mountains as distinguished from hills, or the failure of fishing at a point said to be never entirely frozen over, or the brandishing in the air of "staves" which may or may not be double paddles. When these or the like taken literally raise a problem it is well to remember that we do not certainly know their origin and abide by the general drift of the description or story.

WM. H. BABCOCK

OCEANIA

The History of Melanesian Society. By W. H. R. RIVERS, F.R.S., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. G. P. Putnam's Sons (Cambridge University Press): Cambridge, 1914. 2 vols. XII, 400 pp., 8 figs., 25 pls., 6 maps; 610 pp., 1 map. (Price \$10.50).

This impressive book constitutes "the first instalment of the work of the Percy Sladen Trust Expedition to Melanesia." It does not embody the results of the intensive investigations undertaken by Dr Rivers and his assistants in the Western Solomons and the islands of Bougainville straits, but is based on the survey work done by the author "during the journey to and from the Solomon Islands."

Volume I contains the new *facts* obtained, among which, as might be expected, kinship terminologies from every group or island visited figure prominently. There is a welcome sketch of Tikopian culture, whose close affiliations with that of Tonga are demonstrated in a later chapter (II, p. 234), and considerable new material is offered concerning the Banks islands, especially as regards the club and secret societies.